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16:10:25 Thursday, November 9, 1989

NOTE TO: Office of Soviet Analysis  
 FROM:   
 SUBJECT: Impressions from Chautauqua Conference

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*Kevin*  
*See p. 3.*  
*for info on*  
*Cuba*

On November 2-3, I attended the last two days of the 5th General Chautauqua Conference on U.S.-Soviet Relations at the University of Pittsburgh. The atmosphere, like that of the 1987 Chautauqua Conference which I also attended, was upbeat; not surprisingly, there was even more of a general sense this year that historic changes are afoot. One noticeable difference was greater willingness on the part of Soviet participants to acknowledge the shortcomings of their system and to refrain from polemics, even when challenged by hostile questioners. A display of photographs brought by the Soviet participants included scenes of demonstrations by environmentalists in the USSR, a portrait of a Soviet youth in full punk regalia, and rural and urban scenes that reflected the harsh realities of everyday life.

The sessions I attended were primarily on arms control and regional issues. Some highlights follow.

#### Strategic arms control and nuclear testing.

Major General Anatolii Bolyatkov, Deputy Director of the Legal-Treaty Department of the General Staff, claimed that 70 percent of Soviet medium-range missiles have been destroyed under the INF treaty.

Bolyatkov said both the 1974 and 1976 treaties on nuclear explosions could be signed at the "next summit," argued that the time has come to renew negotiations on a total nuclear test ban, and proposed a joint moratorium pending an such agreement. He also claimed the Soviets have shut down one military nuclear reactor, plan to shut down two more, and are considering shutting down all military reactors.

#### Defense and Space issues.

Vitalii Lukyantsev of the MFA's arms control department said the task of the DST talks is to develop a common view of what is and is not permitted by the ABM Treaty. He said any buildup of ABM systems would mean a buildup of offensive forces and a new arms race, especially if defensive systems were deployed in space. He stated that the START treaty should contain a provision allowing either party to withdraw in case of an "extraordinary situation" threatening its national interests, but he did not propose any other codification of START-ABM linkage.

#### Conventional, SNF and naval arms control.

Bolyatkov claimed that 500 Soviet SNF missiles will be withdrawn from Eastern Europe in 1990. Asked why modernization of the Lance is of concern, he noted the USSR is destroying missiles of the same range and

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claimed Lance modernization would "undermine" the INF treaty and any SNF negotiations. Later, he said modernization would "seriously damage" negotiations on conventional arms.

Bolyatkov said naval weapons are becoming increasingly destabilizing as conventional weapons are reduced.

Asked how the USSR would react to a breakup of the Warsaw Pact, he asserted that this is a "good longterm goal." He said the nature of both alliances will change as CFE cuts are implemented, and he reiterated the Soviet proposal to disband the alliances by the year 2,000. He referred to the withdrawal of a Soviet division from Hungary as part of a "natural process."

#### Internal debate on arms control.

In an informal panel discussion, three Soviet representatives avoided direct indications of disagreement but clearly reflected differing institutional perspectives. General Bolyatkov repeatedly spoke of the need under arms control or arms reductions to maintain sufficient strength to "repel aggression." He was the only Soviet to use that phrase in any of the sessions I attended. The MFA's Lukyantsev recited the standard, post-Wyoming Soviet positions on START, but he also noted that researchers in academic institutes have proposed cutting strategic offensive forces to just 5 percent of current levels, a position he characterized as "not yet official." He stated that the MFA "works closely" with the MOD. Sergei Plekhanov of the USA/Canada Institute claimed that the role of the Institutes has "greatly increased" and stressed the range of views now appearing in print.

In a plenary session, Nikolai Shishlin of the Central Committee Ideological Department responded to a question on why it had taken Gorbachev four years to admit the Krasnoyarsk radar violated the ABM Treaty by stating that Gorbachev was "not a specialist on military technology" and initially had taken the word of the Soviet military that the facility was not a violation so long as it remained incomplete.

#### Problems involving demobilization.

Bolyatkov alluded to the problem of providing jobs, housing, pensions and "social justice" for 500,000 troops to be demobilized, including 100,000 officers and NCOs.

#### Regional issues.

Shishlin told a questioner that diplomatic relations with Israel "of course will be restored." He said this development is only a question of time, "and not a great deal of time."

Shishlin expressed hope that the Malta meeting would afford Presidents Bush and Gorbachev an opportunity to "reflect on what can be done" to end the Mideast conflict.

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Shishlin said Soviet arms shipments to Cuba have been "radically reduced" and that "not a unit" of arms would be sent if US-Cuban relations were "different."

Baltic Independence.

Asked if Gorbachev would use military force to prevent Baltic independence, Shishlin replied that there "can be no talk at all of using military force with respect to the Baltic states." He said the new Soviet constitution will retain the clause allowing republics to secede.

Bilateral relations and "socialist values".

In remarks at the closing plenary, Supreme Soviet Council of the Union Chairman Evgeniy Primakov took umbrage at US offers of advice on how to implement economic reform, including remarks by Senator Bradley immediately before his own presentation. In a sarcastic vein, Primakov noted that President Bush had offered to send a group of US economists to "straighten out" the Soviet economy and make it "easy" for perestroika to succeed. Now, he continued, Senator Bradley had outlined in "perfect detail" what needed to be done, so there was no longer even a need to send the economists.

Primakov went on to deny that the Soviets want to create a society modeled after that of the US. He claimed the USSR has not fallen behind the US by adhering to socialist values, but by adhering to a "universal" model of socialism. The goal now is to "renew" socialist values.

Listing hindrances to further development of US-Soviet relations, Primakov cited the continued implementation of the Jackson-Vanik amendment, although he noted with pleasure Congressional sentiment for change; continued high levels of US defense spending, influenced by "political concerns" rather than "real security needs"; a US tendency to compensate for weapons systems reduced through arms control by modernizing other systems; and US refusal to discuss naval disarmament.

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